

LITURGICAL STRATA IN THE MARGINAL PSALTERS*

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“**R**EJOICE ye in God our helper; shout aloud to the God of Jacob. Take a psalm and produce the timbrel, the pleasant psaltery with the harp. Blow the trumpet at the new moon in the glorious day of your feast. For this is an ordinance for Israel” (Ps. 80:2–5). The gigantic horn-player of the Khludov Psalter (fol. 81^v) obeys this ordinance (fig. 1) and thus serves a similar purpose to that of many of the nearly two thousand other figures that we know in the margins of nine manuscripts of this type. The verse commands the faithful to praise the Lord with their voices and instruments on feast days. In short, it prescribes a liturgy. But more than this biblical injunction requires that we recognize the nature of such iconography. The entire apparatus surrounding these texts is designed for liturgical purposes. On many pages, as for example Khludov, folio 79^r, the term *doxa* occurs between the number and the title of the psalm (fig. 4). This is the equivalent of the *Gloria Patri* in the Roman Church, said by the reader at the end of an antiphonal psalm or chanted by the *psaltai* when a procession arrives at a station or at its end.¹ Other pages² have the sigla for each of the twenty kathismata, the liturgical divisions of the Psalter, each in turn subdivided into three doxai. By implication, these indicate the day of the week and the office in which they are employed and are said to be of Palestinian origin.³ To the right of the psalm numbers at the head of folio 79^r, as on many other pages, are the *hupopsalmata*, versicles added when the psalms are chanted antiphonally. Malickij believed that these were typical of the divine office at Hagia Sophia at Constantinople⁴ but there is reason to think that they were used in monastic offices too.⁵ For our purposes, it

* This paper is substantially the same as that delivered at the Symposium on “Byzantine Liturgy” held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1979.

¹ J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise. Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, X^e siècle* (hereafter Mateos, *Typicon*), II, OCA, 166 (Rome, 1963), 289 s.v. Δόξα.

² E.g., fols. 22^r, 46^r, 85^r, and *passim*, reproduced in M. V. Ščepkina, *Miniatjury Hludovskoj psaltyri. Grečeskij illjustrirrovannyj kodeks IX veka* (Moscow, 1977) (hereafter Ščepkina, *Miniatjury*). See also note 5 *infra*.

³ A. Schneider, “Die biblischen Oden in Jerusalem und Konstantinopel,” *Biblica*, 10 (1949), 449–50; J. Mateos, “Quelques problèmes de l’Orthros byzantin,” *Proche-Orient chrétien*, 11 (1967), 17–18.

⁴ N. Malickij, “Le psautier byzantin à illustrations marginales du type Chludov est-il de provenance monastique?”, *L’art byzantin chez les Slaves. Mélanges Th. Uspensky*, II, 2 (Paris, 1932), 235–43.

⁵ R. Stichel, “Zu Fragen der Publikation byzantinischer illustrierter Psalterhandschriften,” *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 12 (1976), 82; *idem*, unpublished paper given 15 May 1975 at the III^o Congresso nazionale di Studi bizantini, Naples. I am grateful to Dr. Stichel for letting me see both this lecture and his review of Ščepkina, *Miniatjury*, forthcoming in *BZ*, which contains many valuable precisions on the liturgical apparatus of the Khludov Psalter. For the relationship between *hupopsalmata* and *prokeimena*, see J. Mateos, *La célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie byzantine*, OCA, 191 (Rome 1971), 12.

does not matter for the moment whether these indications suggest the use of the Great Church or that of a monastery, although we shall have more to observe on this point when we come to the miniatures. Suffice it to say that the Khludov Psalter exhibits a mixture of uses, both cathedral and monastic, as we expect of ninth-century works.⁶

The essential fact is that such manuscripts were at once a function of the liturgy and an instrument in its execution.⁷ But beyond this general understanding, we must recognize that their fabric of pictures was built in different layers. These layers are not only the often recognized complements of literal, typological, and historical illustration but also, and most basically, liturgical material. In turn, this liturgical content consists of several strata, by which I mean that they seem to have been laid down at different times, accretions of iconography originating in an age sometimes quite independent of the period of manufacture of the manuscripts that contain them.

We shall consider each of the various strata in more detail in a moment. For now I will simply summarize them. The first and most obvious level consists of pictures of the "authors" of the liturgies or depictions of the Eucharist as in the case of Psalm 33, the so-called Communion Psalm. At a lower level—a stratum less in evidence than our first—there are pictures occasioned by the liturgy, that is, by the role that the psalm verse in question plays in the various offices. At a yet deeper level—not necessarily older than our first two strata but more difficult to uncover—exist pictures the content of which seems not to have been created but rather to have been modified by the liturgy. My intention in this paper is to cut a section, so to speak, through the sheer and often tightly compressed "rock face" presented by the marginal psalters in order to expose not a complete picture of these superimposed layers in all their diversity but merely a sample of the various *kinds* of liturgical illustration in our manuscripts. In so doing I hope to be able to show that the psalters are, in fact, more complex than has hitherto been supposed and that, therefore, the first step in their study is a task more archeological or (to save my metaphor) more geological than purely art historical in the sense in which this discipline is traditionally understood.

I must insist upon this for two reasons. First, these readings of the "rock face" have not been made by many art historians who have commented recently on the Khludov Psalter and related manuscripts.⁸ Second, the most valuable work done on these books in the last fifteen years has consisted of historical conclusions,

⁶ In addition to the Palestinian-monastic system of kathismata and doxai, the Psalter exhibits a specifically Constantinopolitan aspect in its stichometric organization: Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden" (note 3 *supra*), 442–47. On the "mixture" of uses in Constantinople as in the monasteries, see further O. Strunk, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *DOP*, 9–10 (1955–56), 175–202, esp. 198–99.

⁷ The most succinct introductions to the matter are by G. Galavaris, "Manuscripts and the Liturgy," 20, and H. L. Kessler, "The Psalter," 32, both in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. G. Vikan (Princeton, 1973). See also D. I. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus-das Bild*, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 2 (Munich, 1965), 98–100.

⁸ Studies of the Theodore Psalter are in this respect more advanced. See especially Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II (note 11 *infra*), 79–80; and C. Walter, "Pictures of the Clergy in the Theodore Psalter," *REB*, 31 (1973), 229–42.

particularly regarding Iconoclasm and its aftermath, deduced from their content.⁹ What we have been doing, if I may borrow the conceit from another discipline, is to concentrate on the “manifest content” of the illustrations—notably the ideological messages of the Iconodules, as in the celebrated analogy between St. Peter trampling Simon Magus and the Patriarch Nikephoros triumphant over the iconoclast Iannis (the second Simon, as the legend puts it)¹⁰—and ignore the “latent content,” that is, the liturgical origins and associations of much the larger part of the iconography. Such associations would have been immediately evident and perfectly comprehensible to the contemporary user of the psalter but today require explication. Sometimes these modern explanations display more ingenuity than probability. Mariès, for example, suggested that St. Gregory of Nyssa is attached to Psalm 70:12 (“O God, go not far from me”: *μή μακρύνῃς ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ*) in the Theodore Psalter because of a pun on the name of St. Makrina, the sister of St. Basil, whose life was written by Gregory.¹¹ But this concerns the hagiographic content of our manuscripts to which we shall return later. For now our prime concern is to restore their liturgical content to its central role.

The Theodore Psalter in the British Library is one manuscript of which we are accustomed to speak with a good deal of confidence. Written and illuminated by the *protopresbuteros* of that name in the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople and dated in its colophon to the year 1066, it yet holds many secrets. One of the problems encountered by the historian of psalter iconography is why different subjects are attached to the same psalm verse in different manuscripts. The great Finnish scholar Jaakko Tikkanen had, as we shall see, already investigated the corollary of this situation, namely, why the same subject is used in a single manuscript to illustrate different psalm verses. Theodore here offers a case in point. The psalter represents the Entry into Jerusalem twice: once for Psalm 8:2–3 (fig. 2) and again for Psalm 117:26 (fig. 3). In this second context, the picture functions simply as a historical illustration of the verse “Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord.” Professor Taft has pointed to the fact that in the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church the antiphonal Psalm 23:7–10, “Lift up your gates ye princes . . . and the king of glory shall come in,” originally part of the Great Entrance, had been replaced by the troparion “Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord.”¹²

⁹ A. Grabar, “Quelques notes sur les psautiers illustrés byzantins du IX^e siècle,” *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 61–82; I. Ševčenko, “The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the Pantocrator Psalter,” *ibid.*, 39–60; S. Dufrenne, “Une illustration ‘historique’, inconnue, du Psautier du Mont-Athos, Pantocrator No. 61,” *ibid.*, 83–95. More “direct” attempts to date the earlier marginal psalters have, in my opinion, been less successful since the iconography—and particularly iconographical lacunae used as *argumenta ex silentio*—of this period does not offer the certainty that is attributed to them: L. Grondijs, “La datation des psautiers byzantins et en particulier du psautier Chloudoff,” *Byzantion*, 25–27 (1955–57), 591–616; A. Frolow, “La fin de la querelle iconoclaste et la date des plus anciens psautiers grecs à illustrations marginales,” *RHR*, 163 (1963), 201–23. Most recently Ščepkina, *Miniatjura*, 296–98, has tried to assign the manufacture of the Khludov Psalter to the year 829 by associating it on textually insufficient grounds with the icon painter Lazarus. For a critique of this argument, see Stichel’s review cited in note 5 *supra*.

¹⁰ Ščepkina, *Miniatjura*, fol. 51^v.

¹¹ L. Mariès, “L’irruption des saints dans l’illustration des psautiers byzantins,” *AnalBoll*, 68 (1950), 161. The miniature, on fol. 90^r, is reproduced in S. Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*. II. *Londres, Add.19.352* (Paris, 1970) (hereafter Der Nersessian, *L’illustration*, II), fig. 147. It occurs in the same context in Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 113^r.

¹² R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance*, OCA, 200 (Rome, 1975), 105–8, 116–18.

This latter text, obviously more appropriate to the Great Entrance, was said quietly by the clergy as they entered through the chancel on the sixth Sunday in Lent, i.e., Palm Sunday (and on occasions such as the procession to the throne after the Trisagion). The verse illustrated by our first miniature (fol. 6^r) is similarly used as the *koinonikon*—the response to the communion hymn—in the same rite.¹³ Both pictures support Taft's suggestion that the Great Entrance was interpreted as signifying Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

But there is another, more deeply buried stratum to be exposed in the sadly flaked miniature attached to Psalm 8:2–3. Both pictures show the same familiar content: the Lord seated upon the ass followed by a single apostle; the child who places a purple mantle under the feet of the ass; the elders at the gate, beside a large cypress, one of them holding a branch. But there is a significant difference of detail. In the architectural background of our first picture, above two basilical structures one of which is domed,¹⁴ rises the statue of an armed man, identified as Mars by Miss Der Nersessian but with no explanation of his presence.¹⁵ Why is this pagan figure there? There is, to my knowledge, no historical evidence for a monumental image of Mars in Jerusalem. And, even if this were an aspect of the city's topography, why does it not appear in the second miniature depicting the Entry? The answer lies in the situation in which this verse was employed. In the *paramonê*, the vigil, on Palm Sunday—a synaxis that took place in Hagia Sophia¹⁶—one of the lections following Psalm 8:2 chanted as the first *prokeimenon* (a response substituted for the original antiphon) is taken from Zechariah, Chapter 9. It begins, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion; proclaim it aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold the King is coming to thee, just, and a Savior; he is meek and riding on an ass, and a young foal. And he shall destroy the chariots out of Ephraim, and the horse out of Jerusalem; and the bow of war shall be utterly destroyed." This liturgical context is, then, the necessary and sufficient explanation of the miniature in Theodore and a *sine qua non* for a full understanding of its iconography.

This prophetic echo of the ancient theme "Ain't gonna study war no more" occurs in our illustration of the Entry into Jerusalem only because of the liturgy. In recognizing this we are doing no more than expand and deepen a principle demonstrated by Tikkanen as long ago as 1895. He showed that where a psalm was illustrated by an event from the life of Christ, or by a Mariological scene, these passages almost always concerned events commemorated in the liturgy. He demonstrated that the verse represented by a particular miniature was often included in the *stichera* of the office in question. Further, at least by implication, he showed that the same subject was sometimes attached to different psalms.¹⁷ Thus Psalm 81—the essence of this "Procession of Triumph" that concludes the office of Holy Saturday and in which verse 8, "Arise, O God, judge the earth," is used as the

¹³ Mateos, *Typicon*, II, 66.

¹⁴ This detail is better preserved in Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 10^r.

¹⁵ *L'illustration*, II, 19.

¹⁶ Mateos, *Typicon*, II, 64.

¹⁷ J. J. Tikkanen, "Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter," first published in 1895 and reprinted as *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 31 (1905), 48–65; for his observations on the Anastasis miniatures, 60–62.

antiphonal response¹⁸—is illustrated in Khludov by the Anastasis (fig. 5),¹⁹ while another version of the same scene is connected by a lemma to Psalm 67:7, “God settles the solitary in a house; leading forth prisoners mightily . . . even them that dwell in tombs” (fig. 6).²⁰ The miniature here is as appropriate to the text as the text is to its employment in the stichera and as the third antiphon in the Orthros of Easter Sunday.²¹

Tikkanen’s insight was fundamental, but even this great scholar did not comprehend the significance of the third antiphon for students of the psalter. The key to this understanding has been provided in our own time by Juan Mateos, although I am obliged to point out that it has not been applied to the seemingly locked doors that are many of the pictures in the marginal psalters. In the space available to me here I cannot open nor even point to all these doors. But I can signal, if only by example, the sort of *entrée* provided to art historians by recent historians of the liturgy, most notably Arranz, Mateos, and Taft. Mateos has exposed two processes in the development of the liturgy, of great historical importance and of considerable predictive value for art historians. First, he showed that it is the third antiphon that is the oldest, the first and second being accretions of the eighth century or later.²² There is, accordingly, a *priori* reason for the student of the illustrations in our psalters of the ninth century and later to believe that, when the third antiphon is the stimulus for the miniature, this will contain iconography much older than the date of the particular manuscript in which it is included. Even more importantly, Mateos showed that these three antiphons—special antiphons, he calls them—had replaced already in the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church the ordinary antiphons derived from Psalms 91, 92, and 94.²³ This substitution seems to have generated, or at least to be reflected in, iconographic activity. While the three ordinary antiphons cannot be shown to have had any detectable impact on the illustrations of these three psalms, the special antiphons prescribed for some of the feasts both in this cathedral typikon and in some later monastic typika had an effect on the way these more recently introduced texts were represented.

For example, the prescriptions for the Great Church,²⁴ followed by the twelfth-century Typikon of the Evergetês monastery in Constantinople,²⁵ specify for the synaxis of the Presentation of the Virgin (10 November) that the koinonikon be Psalm 44:15: “In embroidered clothing virgins shall be brought to the king after her; her fellows shall be brought to thee.” Now earlier manuscripts, from the ninth-century Pantokrator 61²⁶ down to the Bristol Psalter, usually dated about the year 1000,²⁷ ignore this verse and illustrate instead verse 11 with David instructing

¹⁸ Τριώδιον κατανυκτικόν (Rome, 1879), 759.

¹⁹ Ščepkina, *Miniatjura*, fol. 82^v.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 63^r. Yet a third, more elaborate version of the Anastasis is attached to verse 2 of this psalm on fol. 63^r.

²¹ Πεντηκοστάριον (Athens, n.d.), 5, 8.

²² Mateos, *Célébration* (note 5 *supra*), 65–67.

²³ *Ibid.*, 62ff.

²⁴ Mateos, *Typicon*, II, 110.

²⁵ A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgiĭeskikh rukopisej, hranjaščihsja v bibliotekah pravoslavnago vostoka*, I. *Typika* (Kiev, 1895), 322.

²⁶ Fol. 55^v (S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, I [Paris, 1966], pl. 8).

²⁷ Fol. 74^v (*ibid.*, pl. 51). For the date, see *eadem*, “Le Psautier de Bristol et les autres psautiers byzantins,” *CahArch*, 14 (1965), 159–82.

the Virgin to hear the message of the archangel (fig. 7), a subject inspired by the reading from Luke (1:39–50, 56) for that day and more appropriate to the Annunciation than to the Presentation. But Theodore, mindful of the fact that this feast commemorates the Entry of the Virgin into the Temple, shows the Virgin followed by her parents and a group of maidens (fig. 8).²⁸ Nothing except the liturgical application of Psalm 44:15 requires that this psalm verse be interpreted as the Presentation of the Virgin. By the year 1066, then, psalter illustration has caught up with modifications in the liturgy not apparent in manuscripts of the ninth century²⁹ nor even when Bristol was made, some two generations before the London Psalter was written in the Stoudios monastery. More clearly than any of the earlier marginal psalters Theodore shows the impact of the offices, both in the selection of psalm verses illustrated and in the content of those illustrations. The instance that I have just cited thus confirms the observations, made over a decade ago by Professor Weitzmann,³⁰ concerning manuscripts and icons of the eleventh century.

A second example shows how even slight variation in liturgical practice can be observed in our manuscripts, which serve as fairly fine instruments with which to conduct such acts of detection. In the office of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) in the Great Church,³¹ as in the Evergetès monastery,³² the prokeimenon employed was Psalm 98:9, "Exalt ye the Lord our God and worship at his holy mountain." In Pantokrator 61, the mountain is interpreted as Golgotha: a centrally planned structure with the skull at the foot of the mountain and the inscription *κρανίου τόπος* (fig. 9).³³ But this is a unicum. With one exception, all the other manuscripts of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries have illustrations attached not to the ninth but to the fifth and quite similar verse of Psalm 98, "Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at his footstool; for he is holy." Even if we cannot accept the very early and would-be exact date of 829 recently proposed for Khludov by Mme. Ščepkina,³⁴ it is probably no later than Pantokrator 61: we recall that it was originally written in uncial script. Here, as one can see, the arrow-like lemma points to the space between this verse and the next in which Moses and Aaron are mentioned (fig. 10). The verse specified by the Typikon of the Great Church does not even occur on this page which, instead of Golgotha, shows Calvary: the "footstool" of the text is interpreted as the Cross. Tikkanen offered a literary-exegetical explanation of this iconography, tracing it to a *topos* in religious poetry of the post-Justinianic period.³⁵ I would add the observation that in the Typikon of the

²⁸ Fol. 57r (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, fig. 93). Tikkanen (*Psalterillustration* [note 17 *supra*], 49) was aware of the connection between the Feast and the miniature in Theodore but not of the novelty involved in this relationship.

²⁹ Khludov, fol. 45r, anticipates the iconography of Bristol; this is retained in the Barberini Psalter, fol. 74v. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 733, fol. 21r, following the Davidic emphasis that I have elsewhere suggested ("The Marginal Psalter in the Walters Art Gallery: A Reconsideration," *JWalt*, 35 [1977], 37–61 and fig. 20)), ignores the liturgically required verse and depicts the psalmist treading upon his enemies.

³⁰ K. Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 5–10 September, 1966* (London, 1967), 207–24.

³¹ Mateos, *Typikon*, I, OCA, 165 (Rome, 1962), 32.

³² Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I (note 25 *supra*), 274.

³³ Fol. 140r (Dufrenne, *L'illustration*, I [note 26 *supra*], pl. 21).

³⁴ Ščepkina, *Miniatjura*, fol. 98v; for the date, 297–98.

³⁵ Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration* (note 17 *supra*), 15, cites an *apostichos* of Andreas Pyrrhos, patriarch of Constantinople, 638–41 and 655. For the earlier Christian sources and a survey of the secondary literature, see Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* (note 7 *supra*), 16–18.

monastery of the Savior at Messina, of the year 1131, which Arranz has shown to have followed Stoudite practice quite closely, the prokeimenon specified is no longer Psalm 98:9, as in the Great Church, but Psalm 98:5,³⁶ the verse illustrated in Khludov and almost every other marginal psalter.

Yet, once again, Theodore—a Stoudios manuscript dated sixty-five years before the Messina Typikon—presents an innovation, although it is one even more specifically oriented toward the office than the standard depiction of Calvary. Instead of the Cross raised on the mountain this miniature, set beside Psalm 98:5, shows the Cross elevated on the ambo, the climax of the Feast of the Exaltation (fig. 11).³⁷ As Weitzmann and Der Nersessian pointed out, the composition somewhat resembles this scene in manuscripts such as the Menologion of Basil II, which I have recently suggested may not be much more than sixty years older than our psalter;³⁸ but it is only in Theodore that the bishop is identified as St. John Chrysostom.³⁹ We shall see later that this is not a random stipulation, due only to the fact that the synaxaria specify the reading of Chrysostom's homily on the Cross on 14 September, but part of a pattern in the later psalters in which increasing emphasis is laid upon the authors of the several liturgies. For our present purpose, it should be noted that the miniature in Theodore agrees more closely with the ceremony in Hagia Sophia⁴⁰ than with descriptions of the rite in the monastic typika. There, among other divergent details, two deacons are specified⁴¹ rather than the single one who prays before the ambo in our picture, as in the Typikon of the Great Church. This observation might seem to exemplify the encroachment of monastic ritual upon that of Hagia Sophia noted by Oliver Strunk.⁴² But the significance of this picture must be weighed against the other available evidence. In the Walters Art Gallery Psalter, an early fourteenth-century copy of a mid-eleventh-century manuscript, two figures, whom I take to be deacons despite the absence of censers, pray before the ambo (fig. 12).⁴³ This miniature, till now unpublished, is placed beside the last—that is, the ninth—verse of the psalm, as in Pantokrator 61, the first psalter that we examined in this series. If, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, significant differences between the monastic and cathedral rites are still evident in the texts of the typika, the pictures in the psalters cannot be shown unequivocally to reflect one set of practices rather than another.

This should be cause not for pessimism but for caution: we must not expect that all or even most of our miniatures should be immediately explicable in terms of the liturgy. Indeed, for many psalms there is no connection whatsoever between the

³⁶ M. Arranz, *Le typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis gr. 115, A.D. 1131*, OCA, 185 (Rome, 1969), 25. On this typicon's dependence on the Stoudios, see p. xx.

³⁷ Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, fig. 212.

³⁸ *Il Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vat. gr. 1613)* (Turin, 1907), II, 35. For the date, A. Cutler, "The Psalter of Basil II," pt. II, *ArtVen*, 31 (1977), 9–15.

³⁹ Weitzmann, "Eleventh Century" (note 30 *supra*), 217 and pl. 32; Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, 80.

⁴⁰ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 30.

⁴¹ Messina: Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur* (note 36 *supra*), 24; Evergetês: Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I (note 25 *supra*), 274.

⁴² "Byzantine Office" (note 6 *supra*), 198–99. Cf. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* (note 7 *supra*), 22ff., who contrasts the conservative liturgy of the Great Church until 1261 with active developments in the monastic offices after the tenth century.

⁴³ Fol. 66v. For the date, see the article cited in note 29 *supra*.

images in the psalters and the texts prescribed by the typika. For example, the long psalm known from its opening words as the Ἀμωμος (Ps. 118) is an essential part of the mesonuktion, the midnight office. Much importance is attached to it in the Typikon of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople which specifies that this be recited, station by station, in the narthex before the monks enter the church.⁴⁴ Yet no psalter before Theodore bothers to attach pictures to this text. In the London manuscript, the psalm is accompanied by no fewer than twelve miniatures—starting with the five saints representing the blameless ones of the *incipit* (fig. 13)⁴⁵—yet each is a literal illustration of the text. The same is true of the Ἐξάψαλμος, the most solemn part of the Orthros psalmody:⁴⁶ all six psalms (Ps. 3, 37, 62, 87, 102, 142) are illustrated in Theodore, but in no case do these pictures have any relation to the liturgy.⁴⁷

The apparent absence of ritual content equally characterizes the illustration of the so-called office of the Typika in which Psalms 102, 145, and the Beatitudes replace the three antiphons.⁴⁸ The pictures attached to those psalms are, in all the psalters, mere word illustrations.⁴⁹ However, both in Lent and outside this season these “typika” are associated with Psalm 33, the miniatures of which, perhaps more obviously than any others in the psalters, show that the liturgy was a condition of their creation. In the oldest surviving manuscript of the Horologion, the ninth-century Sinai gr. 863 from the monastery of St. Sabbas, this office is placed after None and entitled “For the Communion.”⁵⁰ And in the roughly contemporary Khludov Psalter verse 9 (“Taste and see that the Lord is good”) is illustrated with the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (fig. 14).⁵¹ Now obviously the text

⁴⁴ P. Gautier, “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” *REB*, 32 (1974), 31 ff.

⁴⁵ Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, fig. 256. To judge from the military costume of two of the unidentified ἅγιοι πέντε here, this group differs from the “holy five” (SS. Akindunos, Pēgasios, Anempodistos, Aphthonios, and Elpidiphoros) found on a leaf in Leningrad, Public Library cod. 373 (E. E. Grandström, “Katalog grēceskih rukopisej,” *VizVrem*, 19 (1961), 231; V. N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* [Turin, 1967], 188 and fig. 218), which Nancy Ševčenko has suggested to me may be detached from Sinai cod. gr. 500. On stylistic grounds, Lazarev associated the Leningrad leaf with the Theodore Psalter; as Dr. Ševčenko points out, the relationship to Moscow, Historical Museum cod. gr. 9 of the year 1063 seems even closer. The same distribution of civil and military costume is worn by the five, unidentified martyrs attached to Ps. 118 in Walters (fol. 92r, unpublished). In the similar miniature on fol. 166v of the Kievan Psalter of 1397 (G. Vzdornov, *Issledovanie o Kievskoi Psaltiri* [Moscow, 1978], 137, no. 249), the figures are inscribed *vse s(vja)ti* (All Saints): this would seem to depend upon a misreading of ἅγιοι πέντε in the model as ἅγιοι πάντες. The “holy five” in Theodore could be SS. Eustratios, Auxentios, Eugenios, Mardarios, and Orestes (on which, see the study by K. Weitzmann cited in note 75 *infra*) whose feast day is 13 December. But no typikon or synaxarion that I have examined stipulates the reading of Ps. 118 either for this date or for November 2 when the five led by Akindunos are celebrated.

⁴⁶ Gautier, “Typikon,” 34 note 17, 35.

⁴⁷ A similar situation obtains with regard to Ps. 50. Taft, *Great Entrance* (note 12 *supra*), 223–25, 249, has reasonably suggested that verses 20–21 were employed at the incensation of gifts on the altar during the Great Entrance because of the liturgical content of verse 21 (“Then shalt thou be pleased with a sacrifice of righteousness, offering, and whole-burnt-sacrifices; then shall they offer calves upon thine altar”). Yet in the Khludov Psalter (Ščepkina, *Miniatjury*, fol. 51r), verse 20 is illustrated instead, with a miniature showing a female personification of Sion pointing to an elaborate edifice representing Jerusalem. In Theodore (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, fig. 105), there is no attempt to “liturgify” the scene: the only updating consists of investing the personification with the thorakion worn by empresses in the eleventh century.

⁴⁸ Mateos, *Célébration* (note 5 *supra*), 68–71.

⁴⁹ E.g., Christ healing the sick at Ps. 102:3 and receiving the orphan at Ps. 145:9 in Theodore (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, figs. 219, 289).

⁵⁰ Mateos, *Célébration*, 69.

⁵¹ Ščepkina, *Miniatjury*, fol. 30r. A fuller version of the scene occurs in Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 51v. Cf. Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration* (note 17 *supra*), 52.



1. Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. gr. 129 (Khludov Psalter), fol. 81v,
Horn Player (Ps. 80:2-5)



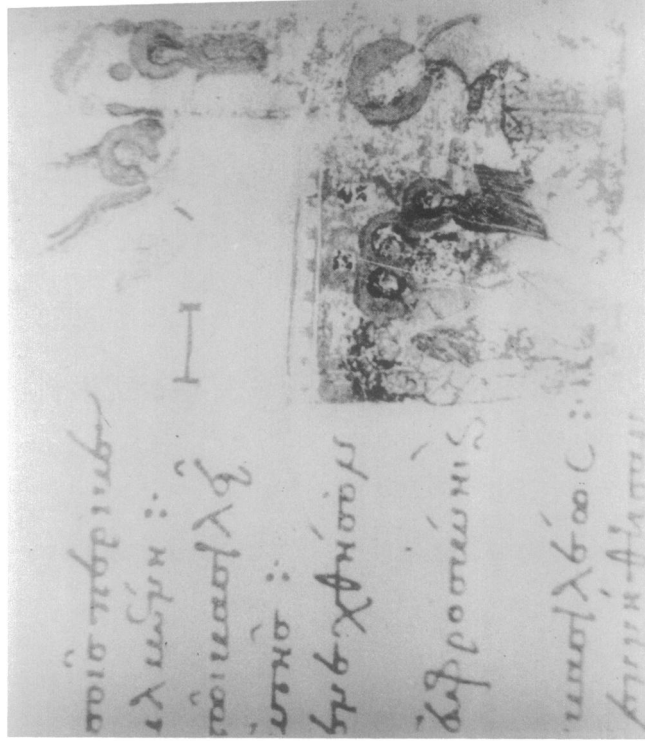
2. Fol. 6^r, The Entry into Jerusalem
(Ps. 8:2-3)



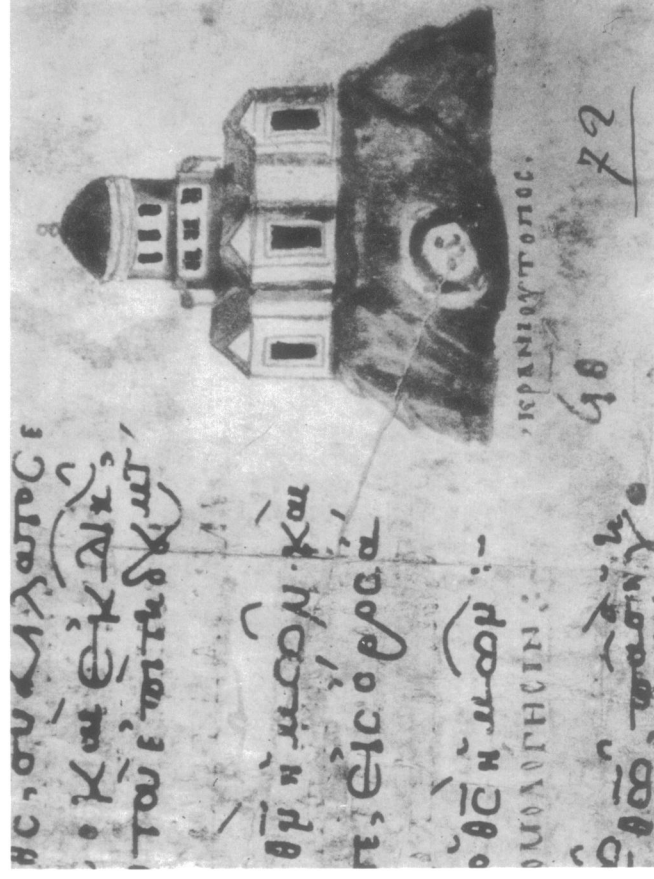
3. Fol. 157^v, The Entry into Jerusalem (Ps. 117:26)



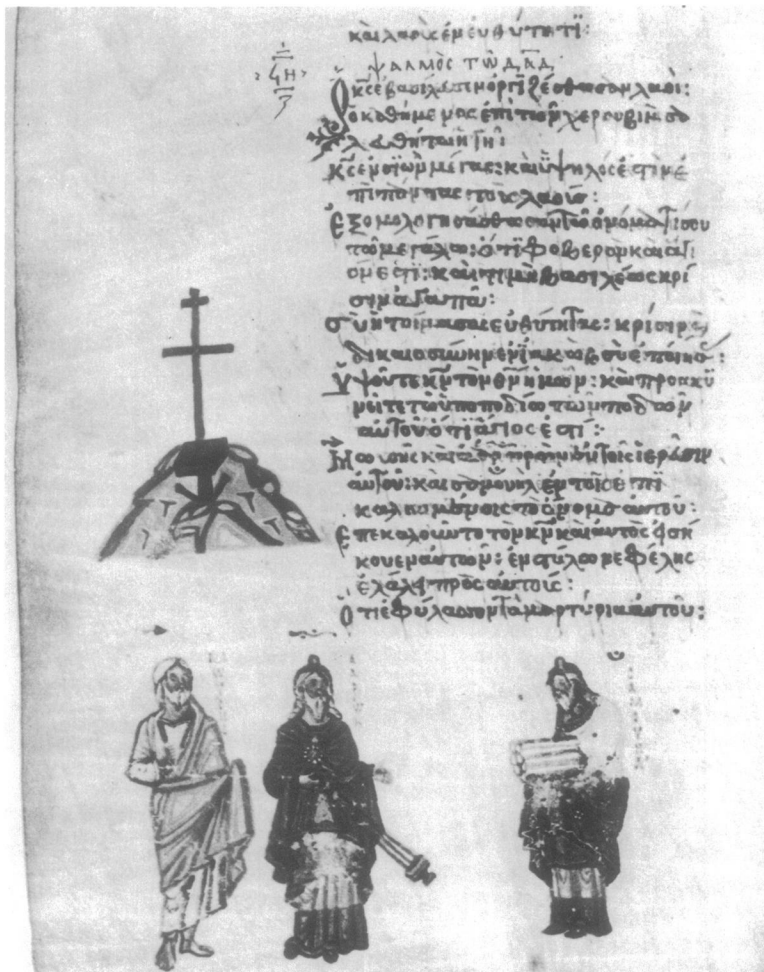
7. Mount Athos, Pantokrator cod. 61, fol. 55v,
David Instructs the Virgin to Hear the Archangel
(Ps. 44:11)



8. London, British Library, Add. MS 19.352, fol. 57r,
The Entry of the Virgin into the Temple (Ps. 44:15)



9. Mount Athos, Pantokrator cod. 61, fol. 140r, Golgotha (Ps. 98:9)



10. Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. gr. 129, fol. 98v,
The Cross on Calvary (Ps. 98:5)



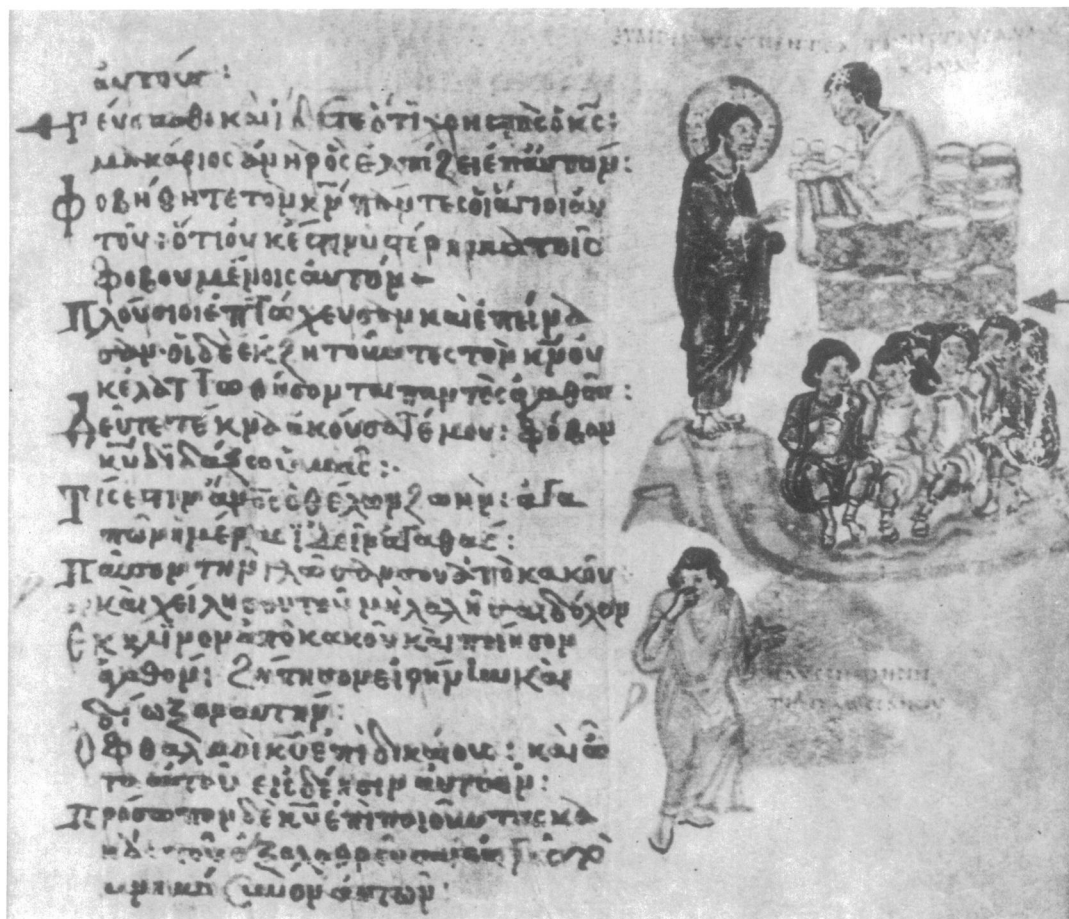
11. London, British Library, Add. MS 19.352,
fol. 131v, St. John Chrysostom Celebrating the
Exaltation of the Cross (Ps. 98:5)



12. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, cod. W. 733, fol. 66v,
The Exaltation of the Cross (Ps. 98:9)



13. London, British Library, Add. MS 19.352, fol. 158r, The Blameless (Ps. 118:1)



14. Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. gr. 129, fol. 30r, The Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (Ps. 33:9)



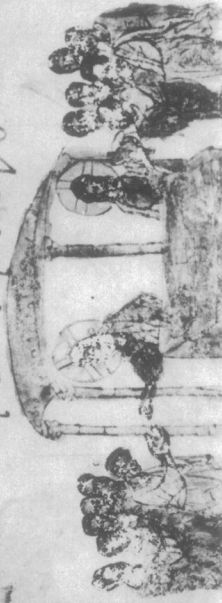
15. Mount Athos, Pantokrator cod. 61, fol. 37r, The Institution of the Eucharist (Ps. 33:9)



17. London, British Library, Add. MS 19.352, fol. 37v, Arius Excluded from Communion (Ps. 33:9)



16. London, British Library, Add. MS 40.731 (Bristol Psalter), fol. 53r, The Benediction and Fraction of the Bread (Ps. 33:9)



A circular silver plate (argenteus) from the Constantinian era, featuring a central relief of the Resurrection. The scene depicts an angel rolling away the stone from the tomb entrance, with soldiers fleeing in terror. The plate is inscribed with Greek text around the border.

19. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks. Riha Paten



20. St. John Prodromos

Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, Southwest Chapel



21. Christ



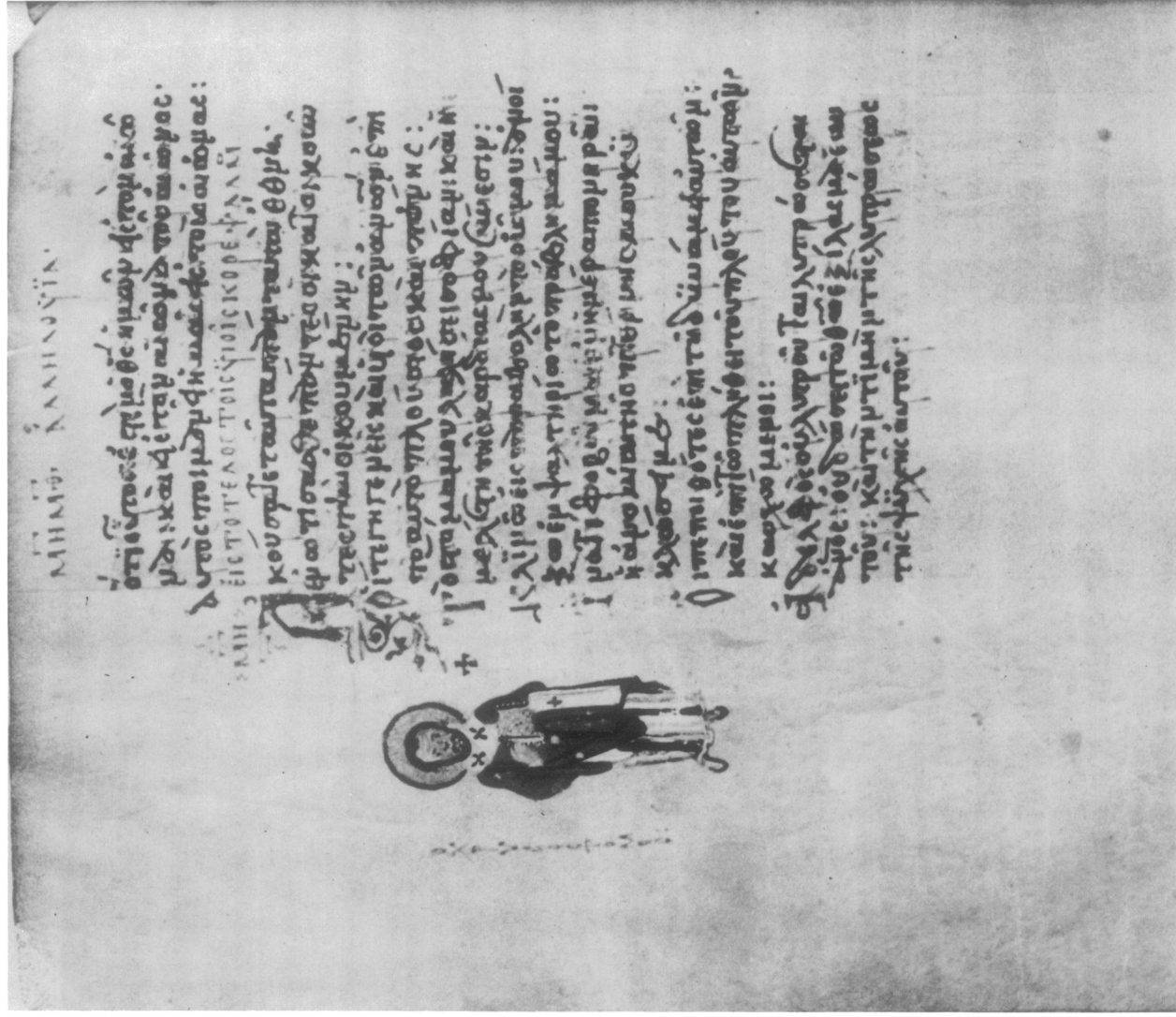
22. London, British Library, Add. MS 19.352, fol. 81r,
The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Ps. 65:12)



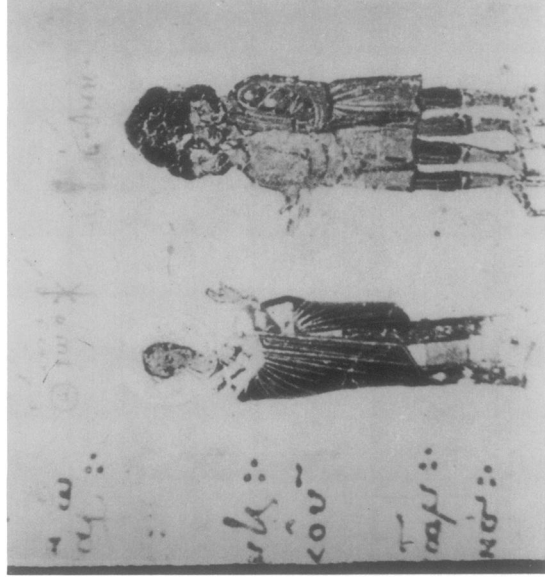
24. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, cod. Hamilton 78 A9, fol. 130v,
Relics of the Martyrs of Sebaste (Ps. 65:12)



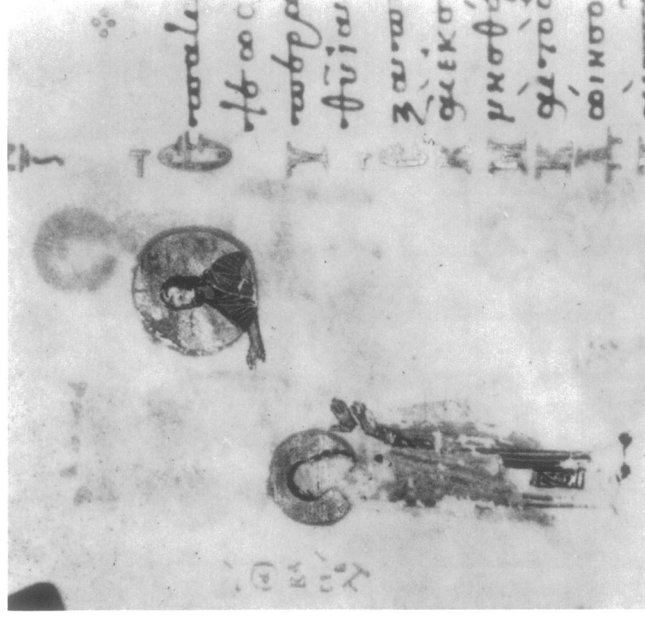
23. London, British Library, Add. MS 19.352, fol. 81v,
Relics of the Martyrs of Sebaste (Ps. 65:12)



25. Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. gr. 129, fol. 47^v, St. John Chrysostom (Ps. 48:4)



26. Fol. 60^r, St. John Chrysostom Preaching (Ps. 48:2)



27. Fol. 20^v, St. Basil (Ps. 19:2)

London, British Library, Add. MS 19.352

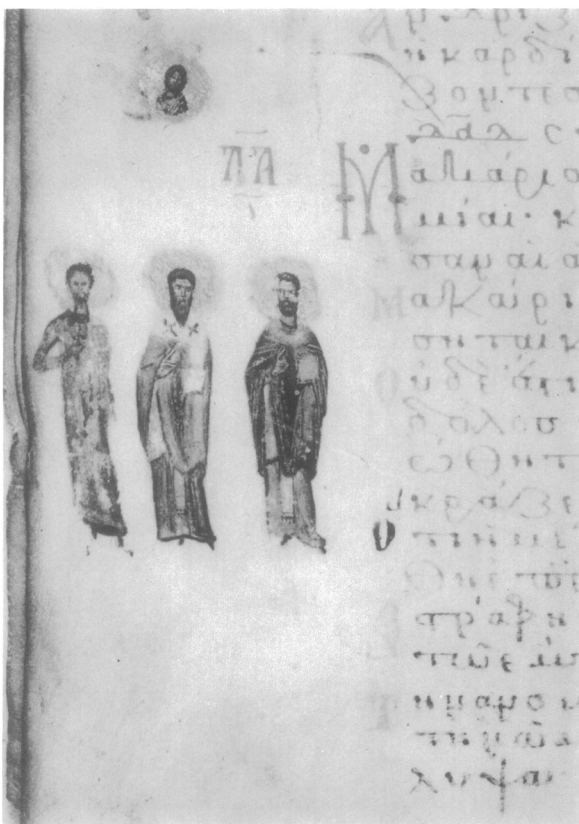


28. Fol. 3v, St. Basil Celebrating the Liturgy
(Ps. 5:3)

London, British Library, Add. MS 19.352



30. Fol. 35v, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom,
and St. Gregory Nazianzenus (Ps. 32:1)



29. Fol. 3v, St. Gregory Nazianzenus, St. Basil,
and St. John Chrysostom (Ps. 31:1)



31. Fol. 46v, St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory
Nazianzenus, and St. Basil (Ps. 80:2-5)

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, cod. W. 733

per se does not require this particular incident from the Gospel (Matt. 14:15–21). But one notices that in addition to the familiar baskets, a young man extends five loaves to Christ for his blessing. It will be recalled that at the end of Vespers on the eve of Great Feasts there takes place the ceremony known as the artoklasia (literally, the breaking rather than the blessing of the bread). In the center of the church a table is placed on which are set five loaves together with vessels of oil and wine. During the singing of the apolutikion, the dismissal hymn, the priest comes out of the bema, goes around this table censing it, and then says a benediction recalling the five loaves at the Feeding of the Five Thousand in the desert. The loaves are then taken into the sanctuary, cut up, dipped in wine, and distributed to the congregation.⁵²

Khludov's New Testament antitype is, however, set aside in another ninth-century manuscript, Pantokrator 61. Here the text referred to—the institution of the Eucharist, "Take, eat" (Mark 14:22)—is inscribed below an image of Christ extending this bread to Paul while, to the right, Peter drinks from an enormous chalice (fig. 15).⁵³ The scene takes place before an elaborate if crudely drawn ciborium. The image of the Communion here, with Christ administering both species, is to be differentiated from that which is, chronologically speaking, our next illustration connected to Psalm 33:9. In the Bristol Psalter, immediately below the verse in question, is a miniature identified by inscription as ἡ μετάδοσις (fig. 16).⁵⁴ The Lord stands behind an altar blessing with his raised right hand the bread that he holds in the left. As Dufrenne has pointed out it is the Benediction and Fraction of the Bread rather than the Communion that is represented here. This aperçu is even more appropriate when we remember that in Stoudite monasteries Psalm 33 was chanted during the distribution of the antidoron, the *pain béni*, at the end of the office.⁵⁵

This being so, we would expect the Theodore Psalter to depict the same scene; yet, once again, we are surprised by the iconography in this increasingly anomalous manuscript. Here, at the head of the page beside the verse in question, it is not Christ but a bishop who offers the host to a group of the faithful (fig. 17). Below, Arius, pushed by a priest, is dragged toward a fiery ball by a devil drawing on a rope attached to the heretic's neck.⁵⁶ In addition, therefore, to the historical-didactic example of Arius, we have yet another version of liturgical imagery and one conceived independently of the pictures in the earlier psalters. Yet in all three cases, as in the example yet to be considered, the illustration epitomizes the Eucharist just as the office in which this Psalm is employed is the image, the *typos*, of the eucharistic rite.⁵⁷

The rite of the Typika was adopted by Constantinopolitan monasteries, together with the rest of the office of St. Sabba,⁵⁸ but it is unknown to the author of the

⁵² Ὁρολόγιον περιέχον τὴν ἡμερονύκτιον ἀκολουθίαν. . . , 2nd ed. (Rome, 1937), 193–94. For a description of the rite, J. Raya and Baron J. de Vinck, *Byzantine Daily Worship* (Allendale, N.J., 1969), 75.

⁵³ Fol. 37^r (Dufrenne, *L'illustration*, I [note 26 *supra*], pl. 5; Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration*, 54 and fig. 68).

⁵⁴ Fol. 53^r (Dufrenne, *L'illustration*, I, 57 and pl. 50).

⁵⁵ Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I (note 25 *supra*), 603 (typikon of the Evergetēs monastery).

⁵⁶ Fol. 37^v (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, 75 and fig. 64).

⁵⁷ *La prière des Heures*. Ὁρολόγιον (La prière des églises de rite byzantin, 1) (Chevetogne, 1975), 325.

⁵⁸ Mateos, *Célébration* (note 5 *supra*), 69.

Typikon of the Great Church. At least in this case, therefore, we are dealing with a body of iconography that emerges not from the immediate circle of the Patriarchate but from a monastic rite which has its beginnings in Palestine. A remote, pre-iconoclastic origin shines through even in the latest marginal psalter that we have, the Greco-Latin Hamilton 78 A9 in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin (fig. 18),⁵⁹ dated by Christine Havice in her remarkable dissertation on the manuscript to just about 1300.⁶⁰ The painter has placed the miniature below verse 11b ("They that seek the Lord diligently shall not want any good thing"), which obviously has a generic association with the image. But the lemmata require that it be attached, like all the other pictures in this series, to verse 9. The *bas-de-page* is employed the better to accommodate the subject which demands a good deal of space here, as in the Riha paten (fig. 19).⁶¹ This piece of liturgical silver, as Havice has pointed out, offers the best analogy to the vignette in our psalter. We should not attach too much importance to the fact that it is Peter who receives the bread at the left in Hamilton while it is apparently Paul that does so on the paten. The relative positions of these apostles are the same on the silver as in the Pantokrator miniature that I mentioned above. Hamilton preserves the traditional distribution of the metadosis to the left and the metalêpsis to the right. Further, while the broad space at the bottom of the page would have allowed the artist to extend his composition in the manner of the many monumental representations of the Communion, he chose to keep the confined scene and serried groups of the apostles as on the paten. Of the five images attached to the Communion Psalm that we have looked at, that in the Berlin Psalter is the most conventional.⁶² We cannot doubt that it depends upon the liturgical application of the psalm verse. Rather, it is more helpful to recognize the fertility, so to speak, of this text which could generate five miniatures that differ in almost every respect from each other.

Hamilton further demonstrates its dependence on the liturgy in the uppermost miniature on the same page. The encounter between Christ and the Prodomos stands beside verses 5–6 of Psalm 33 which begin, "Draw near to him and be enlightened." This text is used repeatedly during the Orthros of the Feast of the Theophany (January 6) when, for example, David is invoked and asked to come in spirit to the φωτισόμενοι, those about to be "enlightened" or baptized.⁶³ The iconography of the *phôtisma* is attested to in several Middle Byzantine lectionaries,⁶⁴ but in the arrangement of figures and their stance the closest analogy to our miniature

⁵⁹ Fol. 85v (P. Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen-Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen Berlin* [Leipzig, 1931], 26).

⁶⁰ *The Hamilton Psalter, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A.9*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (The Pennsylvania State University, 1978).

⁶¹ M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, I (Washington D.C., 1965), no. 10.

⁶² For the predominance of this "liturgical" type as against the "narrative" type of Pantokrator 61, see K. Wessel, *s.v.* Apostelkommunion, in *RBK*, I, cols. 239–45.

⁶³ Μηναία τοῦ ὁλοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, III (January and February) (Rome, 1896), 154.

⁶⁴ Athos, Dionysiou cod. 587, fol. 141v (S. M. Pelekanides, P. C. Christou, Ch. Tsioumi, and S. N. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, I [Athens, 1973], fig. 255); Panteleimon cod. 2, fol. 221r (*ibid.*, II [Athens, 1975], fig. 286). For the new understanding of a figure in Athens, Nat. Lib. cod. 211 (Pseudo-Chrysostom, Homilies), fol. 34v, as the light-bringing Prodomos, see Z. Gavrilović, "La Résurrection d'Adam: une réinterprétation," *CahArch*, 27 (1978), 101–15 and fig. 1.

is to be found in a wall painting in the southwest chapel of the katholikon at Hosios Loukas, a room which Mme. Chatzidakis has suggested was used both for baptism and the blessing of the waters.⁶⁵ The inscriptions beside John (fig. 20) and Christ (fig. 21) are drawn from Matthew 3:14–17, verses which, in the Typikon of the Great Church, constitute the Gospel lection for this feast.⁶⁶ The Blessing of the Waters precedes the Orthros in which our psalm verses are recited. Unfortunately, the typika do not record the use of verses in this context; so we cannot be certain that they were a feature of either cathedral or monastic practice. But the presence of this scene at Hosios Loukas lends credence to the notion that St. John's meeting with the Lord was considered, at least in the monastic liturgy, the antitype of the enlightenment spoken of in Psalm 33 and the *raison d'être* of our miniature. It is interesting to note that Hamilton is the only marginal psalter to contain such a picture.⁶⁷ Given this fact and Hamilton's late date, we are entitled to infer that the process of "liturgification" of the psalter did not stop in the eleventh century. Rather, the great impetus received at that time was but one of several waves that, into the fourteenth century, continued to deposit layers of new iconography.

The most celebrated of these waves is the so-called "irruption of saints" which Mariès discussed in a pair of papers written shortly after the Second World War. I do not have time to analyze these famous contributions in detail but must point to what, in my view, are two of their shortcomings. In his first study Mariès divided the miniatures in the marginal psalters into three classes, Davidic, Christological, and hagiographical.⁶⁸ Since these categories were purely iconographic rather than functional he failed entirely to recognize their liturgical content, thus ignoring the common purpose that bound together the patrons, scribes, and artists of these books. Moreover, by grouping in a single corpus the illustrations in the eight manuscripts that he knew, he treated them as a collective effort, as if all these psalters were the concerted production of a single center. In effect he regarded them as if they were contemporary.⁶⁹ I have said enough above to indicate the dangers of this approach. In his second study, he amended this view slightly and did indeed recognize the liturgical origins of some miniatures.⁷⁰ But since he proceeded by what he regarded as statistical sampling, we can see that for him this category was much smaller than the class of illustration by example where, for instance in Theodore, the verse "He has not despised nor been angry at the supplication of the poor" (Ps. 21:25) is represented by St. John the Eleemosinary.⁷¹ In fact, he cited only

⁶⁵ Th. Chatzidakis, "Particularités iconographiques du décor peint des chapelles occidentales de Saint-Luc en Phocide," *CahArch*, 22 (1972), 108, 112–13, figs. 19–22. Other monumental examples of this iconography depart in a variety of ways from the type at Hosios Loukas. In Cappadocia, notably, St. John kneels or, as in Dionysiou 587 and Paris gr. 533 and 543 (G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* [Princeton, 1969], figs. 246, 464), bows before the Lord.

⁶⁶ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 186.

⁶⁷ Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration* (note 17 *supra*), 51.

⁶⁸ L. Mariès, "Le psautier à illustrations marginales. Signification théologique des images," *Actes du VI^e Congrès international des Etudes byzantines*, Paris, 27 Juillet–2 Août 1948 (Paris, 1951), II, 261–72.

⁶⁹ On the first page of this paper Mariès indicated the centuries in which he believed the books to have been written but in all that follows entirely ignored even these rough chronological discriminations.

⁷⁰ "L'irruption des saints" (note 11 *supra*).

⁷¹ Fol. 23^v (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, fig. 42). The same saint is used in Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 137^r, to illustrate Ps. 81:5 ("Rescue the needy and deliver the poor out of the hand of the sinner").

three examples where the liturgy was necessary to an understanding of the miniature, a tiny group in which his most successful explanation was that offered for the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste who, in Theodore (fig. 22), Barberini, and Hamilton,⁷² are attached to Psalm 65:12, "we went through fire and water; but thou broughtest us out into a place of refreshment." This verse constitutes part of the stichera chanted on 9 March, the synaxis at which these martyrs are commemorated.⁷³ Even here Mariès ignored the verso of this page, depicting the transport of the bodies to the river, their deposition, the recovery of their limbs, and the preparation of a *soros* for these relics (fig. 23). This narrative sequence, found alike in the Barberini Psalter,⁷⁴ is of great importance not only to an elucidation of the sources of hagiographical illustration⁷⁵ but also to a proper recognition of the peculiarly liturgical emphasis of the London Psalter. Wescher was wrong in interpreting the still unpublished upper picture in Hamilton as a priest and a layman before an altar (fig. 24)⁷⁶ when, in fact, it is a simplified version of the scene with the *soros* in Theodore. The correct understanding of this miniature, while reducing by one the number of specifically liturgical scenes in the marginal psalters, stresses on the other hand the power of the iconographically innovative manuscript in London as a model.

The liturgical implications of this miniature may also be of help in dating at least one aspect of the "irruption of saints." Since the recovery of the relics of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste does not appear in any psalter before Theodore, in monumental art not before the slightly earlier wall paintings at Hagia Sophia, Ohrid,⁷⁷ and in no surviving illuminated manuscript before the eleventh century,⁷⁸ the iconographer might suppose that the cult that gave rise to the miniature did not exist much before this time. Yet the reference to the rite in the Constantinopolitan Synaxarion⁷⁹ and the description in the Book of Ceremonies of the procession to the martyrs' shrine at the Chalkoun Tetrastion in which the emperor and the patriarch participated⁸⁰ suggest that in this sequence Theodore reflects a liturgy at least a century and a half old. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether the absence of such scenes from the ninth-century psalters means that a cult was not in existence when they were made or that book illumination had not yet caught up with ritual practice. The latter is the more likely explanation, for it can be shown,

⁷² Theodore: fols. 81^{r-v} (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, figs. 130-31); Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fols. 103^{r-v} (detail of fol. 103^v published by Walter, "Pictures of the Clergy" [note 8 *supra*], fig. 7); Hamilton: fols. 130^{r-v} (Wescher, *Verzeichnis* [note 1 *supra*], 28).

⁷³ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 244-46.

⁷⁴ For the date of Vat. Barb. gr. 372 and the recent literature on it, see Cutler, "Marginal Psalter" (note 29 *supra*), 38 note 4, 61 note 88.

⁷⁵ The pioneering study is S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 222-31. Her views on the importance of these manuscripts for psalter illustration were pursued by A. Grabar in a course of lectures in 1956-57: "Résumés des cours au Collège de France," *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1968), II, 1155-57, 1159-61. For further refinements, see K. Weitzmann, "Illustrations to the Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste," *DOP*, 33 (1979), 95-112.

⁷⁶ *Verzeichnis* (note 59 *supra*), 28.

⁷⁷ Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, 93; G. Babić *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonctions liturgiques et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969), 117 and fig. 83. The Forty Martyrs are represented standing frontally at S. Maria Antiqua in Rome (P. Romanelli and P. J. Nordhagen, *Santa Maria Antiqua* [Rome, 1964], 39 and pl. 46B), but the recovery of their relics does not appear before Ohrid.

⁷⁸ For the manuscript comparanda, see Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, 91-92.

⁷⁹ *Synaxarium CP*, col. 524, lines 8-10.

⁸⁰ *De ceremoniis*, II, 13, Bonn ed., 559. Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I (note 25 *supra*), 54; and Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 244-46.

in principle, that where a psalm verse of demonstrable liturgical significance is illustrated in manuscripts in and after the eleventh century, this liturgy is earlier recorded in the sources devoted to cathedral or monastic practices. These documents, then, serve to provide a terminus ante quem for the use of a psalm which is usually earlier than the evidence offered by the psalters.

The synaxaria and typika further offer a control upon the iconography of our manuscripts. Thus for Psalm 48, Khludov shows St. John Chrysostom beside verse 4, "My mouth shall speak of wisdom; and the meditation of my heart shall bring forth understanding" (fig. 25).⁸¹ However, in Theodore, the same figure is shown preaching to a group of men labeled εὐνη (fig. 26).⁸² Because of this epigraph, Miss Der Nersessian associated the saintly bishop here not with the fourth verse but with the second, "Hear these words all ye nations, hearken, all ye that dwell on earth." This is an interesting change in itself, yet the editor of neither manuscript offers a reason why Chrysostom, of all the Fathers, should be chosen for this duty. The explanation is to be found in the Typikon of Hagia Sophia where verse 4 and verse 2 of this psalm are stipulated as the prokeimenon and stichos respectively for 13 November, the day on which the bishop's exile from Constantinople by the Emperor Arcadius is commemorated.⁸³

One of the greatest changes between the psalters of the ninth century and those of the eleventh is the much greater attention paid in the latter to Chrysostom and Basil, long accepted as the authors of the liturgies, and to Gregory to whom such an ascription is more recent.⁸⁴ The "irruption of liturgists" would seem to be a peculiarly strong current within the new wave of saintly iconography in the psalters. Theodore, for example, has an image of St. Basil celebrating the liturgy beside the start of Psalm 5 (fig. 28),⁸⁵ a psalm that is part of the second kathisma, read at Prime.⁸⁶ The office of the First Hour is obviously appropriate to verse 3 of the psalm, "In the morning shalt thou hear my voice; in the morning will I wait upon thee and look up," a text almost literally depicted in the miniature. More importantly, the verse is not illustrated in any manuscript before the London Psalter which thus

⁸¹ Ščepkina, *Miniatjura*, fol. 47v.

⁸² Fol. 60r (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, fig. 97). The illustration to Ps. 48:4 in Hamilton (fol. 109r) shows Chrysostom, inspired by St. Paul, writing at his desk. This has been explained by C. Walter, "The Portrait of Jakov of Serres in London. Additional 39626," *Zograf*, 7 (1977), 72, as due to the painter's lack of a model more appropriate to the text. More likely it is to be related to a distinct iconographical tradition showing the Saint's teaching as the *fons scientiae*: at Lesnovo in 1346 a stream proceeds from the pulpit of the seated Chrysostom into whose ear St. Paul whispers (S. Radojčić, "Die Entstehung der Malerei der Paläologischen Renaissance," *JÖB*, 5 [1956], 116 and fig. 3). For fuller discussions, see S. Dufrenne and R. Stichel, and S. Radojčić, in *Der Serbische Psalter*, Text vol., ed. H. Belting (Wiesbaden, 1978), 207 and 285–86.

⁸³ Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 100.

⁸⁴ There is no Byzantine authority for regarding Gregory Nazianzenus as the author of the so-called Liturgy of the Presanctified although some modern editions (e.g., Raya and de Vinck, *Byzantine Daily Worship* [note 52 *supra*], 349) so attribute it. For the ascription of this liturgy to Gregory Dialogos (Pope Gregory the Great) in Byzantium, see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur* (Munich, 1959), 243. Professor Gabriele Winkler has drawn my attention to the fact that the Armenian anaphora attributed to Gregory Nazianzenus show a very close relationship to his writings. On this point, see her study "Zur Geschichte des armenischen Gottesdienstes im Hinblick auf den in mehreren Wellen erfolgten griechischen Einfluss," *OrChr*, ser. 4, 58 (1974), 160.

⁸⁵ Fol. 3v (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, fig. 6). A very similar scene is attached to the same text in Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 5v.

⁸⁶ Ὁρολόγιον (note 52 *supra*), 134; Raya and de Vinck, *Byzantine Daily Worship*, 208. It is also read at Vespers, *ibid.*, 66.

offers *prima facie* evidence for a liturgical *aggiornamento* in the eleventh century. We must be careful, however, not to attribute to this every appearance of the three hierarchs. There is no compelling reason why, in the same manuscript, St. Basil should be set beside the incipit of Psalm 19, "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble and the name of the God of Jacob defend thee" (fig. 27).⁸⁷ There may be less here than meets the eye. We should perhaps remember what Theodore himself tells us in his colophon, that he came from Caesarea and that "his shepherd and light was the glorious and brilliant Basil."⁸⁸

Yet without discounting this element of personal devotion it is clear that the eleventh-century psalters display a keen and unprecedented interest in authors of the liturgies.⁸⁹ In Walters, Gregory, Basil, and Chrysostom represent the μακάριοι, the blessed whose transgressions are forgiven at the start of Psalm 31 (fig. 29).⁹⁰ Rearranged in Theodore, for the very similar verse that begins the following psalm, Basil, Chrysostom, and Gregory stand for the righteous who rejoice in the Lord (fig. 30).⁹¹ As we might expect, both texts are used frequently as prokeimena in various offices,⁹² but for this group we have, in addition, a most unusual testimony in the Typikon of the Pantokrator monastery which prescribes specific illumination for the icon of the three Fathers on their feast day.⁹³ The original of this document dates to 1136,⁹⁴ but there is good reason to believe that the office of the Three Hierarchs—the occasion and purpose of this composition—reverts to the middle of the eleventh century.⁹⁵ If this is so, then the Theodore and Walters Psalters echo a very recently invented picture. The artist of Walters placed it where no other painter had done or would do, in the margin beside the verses in Psalm 80 which summon the people to rejoice (fig. 31). Every other psalter follows the lead of the artist of Khludov—the point where we came in—in having the horn-player enjoin the faithful to "take a psalm and produce the timbrel . . . in the glorious day of your feast." The message is the same in Walters but now expressed through the persons of the great liturgists. In this particular situation the miniature is unique. But in a broader context, Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory are the vehicles of this rejoicing. The picture is, then, an icon in a double sense, at once the embodiment and the essence of the relationship between psalm text and liturgical imagery that I have tried to sketch above.

⁸⁷ Fol. 20^v (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, fig. 36). No commentary of St. Basil's on this Psalm is preserved.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁹ This interest anticipates by a century or more the incorporation into programs of mural decoration of scenes of the hierarchs officiating before the Hetoimasia and the Amnos, said to reflect doctrinal disputes of the twelfth century by G. Babić, "Hristolške raspre u XII veku i pojava novih scena u apsidalnom dekoru vizantijskih crkva," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*, 2 (1966), 11–29. I am grateful to Professor Aleksandr Každan for drawing my attention to this reference. Babić's article is translated with minor changes in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 2 (1968), 368–86.

⁹⁰ Fol. 3^v. Cf. Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom on fol. 46^v (Ps. 80:2).

⁹¹ Fol. 35^v (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II, fig. 60).

⁹² See Mateos, *Typicon*, II, "Index biblique," 215.

⁹³ Gautier, "Typicon" (note 44 *supra*), 41. Professor Hans Belting has suggested to me that this icon was the model hypothesized by Dufrenne and Stichel in *Der Serbische Psalter* (note 82 *supra*), 207, for the miniature in the Serbian Psalter (fol. 63^r) showing the Three Hierarchs seated at their pulpits.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹⁵ P. E. Lamerand, "La Fête des Trois Hiérarques dans l'église grecque," *Bessarione*, 4 (1898–99), 164ff.; A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, I,2 (Leipzig, 1936), 669. Cf. Walter, "Pictures of the Clergy" (note 8 *supra*), 240 note 51. For the Feast of the Three Hierarchs, see further Radojčić, in *Der Serbische Psalter*.